TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. WEITNEY is our authorized canvassing agent to advertisements for the Erg at our lowest rates.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1855.

NEW PROPOSITION.

As the first six months of this year are about to clos first number of the second half of the volume, namely, ti first of July. Any person forwarding us fire dollars, may order six copies of the Era for six mo Facts for the People for a year.

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Single copy one year - \$2 | Single copy six months - \$!
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-					
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FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE

Let us suggest to our friends who are about to assemble in Convention the following sum mer and fall, that they will have a fine oppor tunity for extending the circulation of Facts for the People, which, on account of its character and low price, is peculiarly adapted for campaign purposes.

PROTECTION-RUSSIA-TURKEY.

A few days since, the New York Tribune, in a labored article on Protection, challenged us to a discussion of that subject. As in our articles on the Eastern war the question was raised only incidentally, we do not choose, for the time, to have it take the place of the main question. Besides, the Tribune must recollect, that while it has twenty heads to look after twenty different matters, we have but one; so that we cannot attend to everything at once. Nevertheless, we shall probably steal a few moments from more pressing topics, for the purpose of replying to the argument of the Tribune: and the writer, whose name and fame are not unknown to us, shall then have no reason to charge us with unfairness, although we may not follow the course of discussion pointed out by himself.

A MISTAKE IN LITERARY HISTORY-UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

The Edinburgh Review, in its last number, in an extended notice of Uncle Tom's Cabin, makes the following singular statement:

"It came out as a sort of fewilleton in the lational Era, a Washington paper. The death of Uncle Tom was the first portion published, indeed the first that was written. It appeared in the summer of 1851, and excited so much attention, that Mrs. Stowe added a beginning and middle to her end, composing and printing, from week to week, the story as we now have it, until it was concluded in March, 1852."

It is often said, and with truth, that we know more of English subjects on which we attempt to write, than English writers know of American subjects. An American reviewer who should fall into such mistakes as characterize the foregoing extract, in speaking of the history of any one of Dickens' or Scott's novels would meet with little mercy at the hands of his cotemporaries.

A brief statement will suffice to correct the errors of the Edinburgh Review.

Some time in the spring of 1851, Mrs. Stowe a contributor to the National Era, wrote to us, that a subject had taken possession of her mind, and was gradually working itself into the shape of a fictitious narrative, which she proposed to publish in our paper, in successive numbers. She supposed then that it would be quite brief, and the title she suggested was, " Uncle Tom's Cabin, or The Man that was a Thing." May 8th, we made the following an-

"Week after next, we propose to commence in the Era the publication of a new story, by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, the title of which will be Uncle Tom's Cabin, or the Man that was a It will probably be of the length of the tale by Mrs. Southworth, entitled 'Retribution.' Mrs. Stowe is one of the most gifted and popular of American writers.

Before the close of the month, we received the first two chapters, just as they appear now in the book, the title having been modified, so as to read, " Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Lifeamong the Lowly." The chapters were published in the National Era of June 5th, 1851, and the work was then continued, in successive numbers, until April 1st, 1852, when the last chapters were printed. The whole work, consisting of 46 chapters, was published in the Era, and chapter 39th, describing the death of Uncle Tom, appeared in its proper place, May 18th

Closing the publication, we remarked in an editorial, as follows:

"Mrs. Stowe has at last brought her grea work to a close. The last chapters appear in this week's Era. With our consent, the Bos ton publisher issued an edition of five thousand on the 20th of March, but it has already been exhausted, and another edition of five thousand has appeared. We do not recollect any production of an American writer, that has excited more profound and general interest. Since the commencement of its publication in our columns, we have received literally thousands of testimonials from our renewing subscribers to its unsurpassed ability. We hope that this vice which shall be rendered by Mrs. Stowe to the cause of Freedom, through the columns of the National Era."

Our paper at that time had seventeen thou sand subscribers, or, according to the usual calculation, not fewer than 85,000 readers. It is for nearly a year, by eighty-five thousand readers; talked and written about incesantly; read on the car, in the steamboat, at the hotel, in nently affect the course of foreign immigra parts, just enough to stimulate, without satisfybook form, have run like fire on the prairie.

The Review, assigning the causes of its great popularity in Europe, gives the first place to its subject, but remarks that its Amer-Its subject, being novel, as a theme of fiction, Europe and America ; but it is a great mistake to suppose that it was detrimental in any re-

there was in this new book to kindle such that of 1790! excitement, and strengthen so greatly the op-

work of equal merit upon any other theme. The first cause, then, of its wide circulation intrinsic merit as a work of genius. We care in 1790, is now seven millions greater! nothing as to its violations of the niceties of criticism. As to its short-comings in the artistic view-the work glows from beginning to end color," that is an admirable quality; but if this had been its principal characteristic, the "Puritans" of New England, alluded to by the reviewer, might have spoken respectfully of the good intentions of the book, but, ere this, they would have forgotten the very names of Uncle

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW AND AMERICAN SLAVERY-1790 AND 1850

The article in the Edinburgh Review on American Slavery, to which we referred last week, may serve to arouse some minds to the perils which beset this country; but its nite abandonment of the Southern States as irre coverable, and the despairing tone in which it speaks of the efforts and means of the Anti-Slavery Party, can be productive of no good. It is by reading such articles that we are reminded of the mischief often done to a noble cause, by undervaluing what it has accomplished, and gloomily exaggerating the obstacles to its advancement. Anti-Slavery Reformers, intent upon awakening the Public to a full perception of the Evil they assail, address themselves rather to the fears than hopes of men, rarely pausing to dwell upon the gains of Freedom, but always on the alert to point out its losses and perils. They dread a truce with the enemy-they would avoid everything tending to full the People into a false security, or tempt them to relaxation of effort. But despair is as bad as overweening confidence. He who hopes nothing, will in the long run do nothing. Men without faith will soon learn to live with-

Certainly, it is a fearful controversy in which the People of this country are involved-a conroversy which cannot be thrust aside, but must e settled, soon or late, peacefully, or through violence. For good and evil, for weal and wo, these thirty-one States are bound together, and they must confront and deal with as they best can, the common danger. There are gloomy aspects of the controversy-we are only too familiar with them-but are there not encouraging indications?

Recollect-when we began our career under the existing Constitution, nearly all the States Union may prove her only hope. If we save were Slaveholding; now, there are but fifteen out of thirty-one. And where are the new slave States preparing for admission? Fraud and violence are seeking to force the growth of to use the ample means within our reach, to a single one in Kansas, but the result of the periment has yet to be seen. What besides? Slavery has a bare possi-

bility in New Mexico; a faint, distant hope of

Utah; the contingency of a subdivision of Texas, yet remote; the chances of a war with Spain for Cuba, and of depredations on Mexco. With ordinary discretion and tolerable nanimity, the free States can keep the peace with both these Powers. Physical causes, and he prejudices of the native population, must barrass all attempts to convert New Mexico ato a slave State. The Mormon controversy nust be settled before colonists from North or South will seek homes in Utah; and as for Texas, want of population, and the fear that, wing to the German settlers, to divide the State now might involve the establishment of a free State, will restrain for an indefinite period any movement of the kind.

Meanwhile, a series of new free States is rocess of rapid formation. MINNESOTA has now population enough for a State, and in due ime, her area being over 166,000 square miles, will form the basis of three States. A bill passed the House during the last Congress, for ne organization of a State Government in gegon, and will pass both Houses during the next Congress; but Oregon, too, with an area of 185,000 square miles, must hereafter be divided into three States. Washington, with an area of 123,000 square miles, ultimately to constitute two States, will soon be ready for adission as one. The admission of the three. as States, will increase the Free State majority in the Senate, from two to eight, and in the House, from fifty-six to sixty, with the certain prospect of the rapid increase of the latter, from the growth of population. California, with an area of 155,000 square miles, is now seriously agitating the project of a division, with a view to the erection of three States, all to retain the prohibition of Slavery. A majority of the Legislature, which has just closed its ession, was in favor of it, but it has yet to be submitted to the People. The time is not far distant, when there will be eight free States on the Pacific coast, instead of one; and then, with the three States to be formed in Minne sota, the free States will number twenty-six instead of sixteen, have a delegation in the Senate of fifty-two instead of thirty-two, and constitute an unconquerable majority in the House. Nor is this all: NEBRASKA, given up by the slaveholders, although a small attempt to invite a Vandal irruption has been made

being 335,000 square miles. What is there in the prospects of Slavery, to set off against these inevitable and not very distant accessions to the side of Freedom? Again: Large as the slave population is relatively it is now smaller than it was at the formation of the Constitution. Then, it was as one to five and a half of our free population ; now, it is as one to about seven. In sixty years it has increased, from 697,000 to 3,200,000, or

by one of the newspapers, is destined to prove

the nursery of five or six free States, its area

358 per cent.; while the white has increased. from 3.172,000, to 19,553,000, or 516 per cent. not wonderful that a work of such power, upon There is no reason to suppose that this ratio of such a subject, eagerly looked for every week, white increase will be diminished for a long time to come; for no one dreams that the insane policy of the Know Nothings can permation. It is this which has so rapidly augmenting desire, should, the moment it appeared in ed the white population, carrying it forward with such momentum, and giving it so vast preponderance over the slave, as greatly to reduce the hazards of servile insurrection; or even in that contingency, to save the Fedican popularity depended principally upon its eral Government and the country generally religious character. This is rather far-fetched. from fatal damage. Had it not been for the accession to our white population from abroad. was a leading element of its popularity in both the slaves would constitute one in two, instead of one in seven of the People. With a free population, then, rapidly, constantly gaining spect to the circulation of the work in the Union the slave, we may reasonably hope that it without hindrance develop the grandest results. led States. The Questions of Slavery embraced will be strong enough, not only to prevent the And, from the hour bounds are set to the Terriin it are of engrossing interest in this country- evil from becoming unmanageable, but to abate

Sentiment, as a vital, active element, is far slave States elected to the House of Repretion, we might hopefully trust the Southern the Convention voted, and we find in the newsmore diffused in this country than in any sentatives forty-nine members, the free States, People with the solution of the grave Question other, for the obvious reason, that there is an fifty-seven-securing a majority of eight. In which would then be presented to them. Two ever present, tremendous stimulant to its activ- 1850, after a race of sixty years, the delegation in Parties would be inevitably evolved among ity-exulted in a work which so graphically the House from the slave States is 90, from the them, Emancipationists and Perpetualists, and gave utterance to their views and aspirations. free States 144-showing a majority for the the contest, once inaugurated, with no hope for Pro-Slavery People were eager to see what latter of 54, nearly seven times larger than the latter of aid or countenance from the Fed-

Meantime, the white population of the slave of Civilization working together for the former, position to them. Slaveholders were anxious States has increased, from 1,271,488 in 1790, could not be long doubtful. to know in what light they and their institutions to 6,222,418 in 1850-of 388 per cent.; while were represented. No combination of elements | the white population in the free States has in-

with Inspiration. In regard to the "religious States, 851,508; but we must add to the and solid Progress. former the area of the Territories of Oregon, Washington, Nebraska, and Minnesota, amounting to 809,959, which will swell the to 1,422,556 square miles. The other Territories, Utah, New Mexico, and Kansas, and the Indian Territory, comprising an area of 662,102 square miles, cannot be classed as slave territory; at the most, a claim is raised to them by the slaveholders, a claim, which we hope will soon be exploded in Kansas, and which they will find very difficult to make good in relation

o any of the rest. Now, add to all this, the consideration, that the free States command the whole of the Pacific coast, all the great seaports on the Atantic, the whole system of inland seas, stretching from the Atlantic westwardly towards the Pacific ocean; that they own the shipping, ontrol the commerce, and possess the disposable capital of the country: that, in internal improvements, education, arts, science, literaare, invention, and enterprise, they stand bevond comparison with the slave States-and it not clear as sunlight, that they have the power in their own hands, of securing the perpetual ascendency of Freedom and Free Labor Institutions, and so controlling the Federal Government, that the Union shall not only not be seriously injured by Slavery, but shall, by peaceful, constitutional methods, facilitate ts extinction?

How the removal of Slavery is ultimately to be effected, is a question which justly awakens painful solicitude; but certain knowledge on this point is not at all necessary to the discharge of our duty as non-slaveholders. If we firmly maintain and wisely use the power secured to us under the Constitution, and by the laws reglating colonization, population, and growth, in this country, come what may to Slavery, let the States in which it exists deal with it as they may, we are safe, the Federal Government is safe, the Cause of Freedom, so far as represented by the Free Institutions of the nation and its Union, cannot be subverted. There may be convulsions in the South, but she cannot drag the Union to ruin, while the ourselves, Slavery may be wrecked, and the Slave States still be rescued. But if we part with the staff of accomplishment, if we forbear give to Freedom the ascendency, if we permit ernment, and convert it into a Juggernaut of Despotism, then Retribution, with its thickswarming judgments, will overtake us all, and there will be none to deliver.

We have set the power, and on this point we differ from the Edinburyh Review. The reviewer has overlooked all the encouraging indications we have just brought to view; nor does he appear to have the least conception of the means at our command. Admit, that all ruling influences at the South are enlisted in the support of Slavery; that the clergy is denoralized, statesmanship debauched, the press enslaved-that slaveholders are growing nscrupulous and unrelenting every day-that not an auspicious omen appears in the whole Southern horizon-what then? We have a great duty to perform, and its faithful performance will work a revolution in the South, not violently, not arbitrarily, but in ways which no Interest can withstand, no Prejudice baffle, no Law forbid. The Edinburgh Review talks of the necessity of amendments to the Constitution, to enable Congress to abolish the slave laws of the South, but comes to the conclusion that such amendments are impossible, because the requisite number of slave States cannot be induced to go for them. Congress can then do nothing more than repeal the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Act!

Then it asks, in a tone of despair: "Beyond the repeal of these acts, what car an American statesman, anxious to free his untry from that intolerable load of misery and crime, effect? He may indulge the hope that the ameliorating influence of knowledge and religion will induce the inhabitants of the Southern States themselves to amend gradually their atrocious slave codes. He may console himself with such a hope. We should be sorry to deprive him of it, but we do not share it. Public opinion in the slave States, instead improving, is deteriorating. There are no inumentalities by which it can be enlightened or shamed. The press, the pulpit, the legislative bodies, are silenced. 'Any man tainted,' to use the language of a Southern Presbyterian lergyman, 'with the bloodhound principles of Abolitionism, or even suspected of being so tainted, is ruined, outraged, and exiled, if he is allowed to live. That Providence will, in its own way and its own time, work out a cure, we believe; because we believe improvement pro rupted, to be among the laws by which this earth is governed. But we do not venture to hope that we, or our sons, or our grandso will see American Slavery extirpated from the

Let us see what the American Statesmen, or rather what the American People-those of them who think Slavery a curse-can do-They can put down this mad crusade against foreigners, and maintain their liberal policy in relation to Immigration, the effect of which is to increase free population and multiply free States. They can build up within thirty years ten new free States, in Territory about which there is now no contest: they can put down the marauders in Kansas, and secure it for free labor institutions: they can and will increase their representation in Congress, till it become invincible. They can stamp the law of Freedom upon every foot of the fifteen hundred thousand square miles under the exclusive urisdiction of the Federal Government. They can elect for President, a man pledged against the extension of Slavery, or its recognition within exclusive Federal jurisdiction. They an, in 1856, instal an Administration hostile to every scheme of Slavery Propagandism, and which shall secure for Freedom the prestige and influence of National supremacy and patronage. If they do all this, the increase and power of Slavery would be at once arrested, while the natural laws, which now work inessantly for the growth of States whose institutions are in harmony with Justice and the Civilization of the age, would safely and tory of Slavery, and the prestige of its political Southern men were dis

eral Power, and with all the normal influence

In short, the thing to be done first is, to withdraw the aid and countenance of the Fedlike this could have existed in the case of a creased, from 1,900,976 in 1790, to 13,330,650 eral Government from Slavery. This can be in 1850-or 601 per cent. The white popula- done by the non-slaveholders in 1856; and, tion in the free States, which was six hundred | when done, Slavery would cease to be a source and popularity was, its subject—the second, its thousand greater that that of the slave States, of political power. What would follow? The extinction of Servility or doughfaceism in the Then, as to territory: The territory now North, the era of Liberalism in the South-out organized into free States comprehends an of which ultimately, through safe, peaceful, and area of 612,597 square miles; that into slave | constitutional ways, would grow Emancipation

It is the disloyalty of the non-slaveholders of the Free States to their own institutions, and the subjugation of the Federal Government by aggregate area of Territory certainly free, the slaveholders, which keeps down the spirit of Freedom in the South. Liberal Statesmen in that section know that, should they avow their real convictions, they could expect no backing from the non-slaveholders or from the Federal Government. Were this state of things changed, how long would they keep silence? Emancipate the Federal Government. and you break in pieces the Slave Power, which now strikes dumb the Editor, the Preacher, the Statesman, where it does not compel them to come its champions. Emancipate the Federal Government, let the People of the Free States be true to themselves, and you emancipate thousands upon thousands of Southern People, who feel the evils of Slavery more keenly than a stranger can conceive them, and who are silent now, because hopeless and help-

> The Edinburgh Review ought to know that the South is not yet inaccessible. Northern newspapers, full of Anti-Slavery sentiment, find their way into this section by thousands. The National Era is established on slave soil, and exchanges with hundreds of Southern newspapers, including nearly all the leading journals. The Foreign Quarterlies, with their oc casional discussions of the Question, are read extensively by Southern planters. Every year, the debates of Congress on Slavery, pro and con., fully and impartially reported, are circulated widely in the Southern States. In nearly all National Conventions, where Northern and Southern delegates meet face to face, the subject comes up for discussion, and the words spoken are sent by telegraph to all sections of the Republic. Northern men go to the South, Southern planters sojourn in the North, visit there on business, send their sons to be educated at its colleges, and are familiar with its literature. Thus in ways innumerable is the South made to feel the pressure of Anti-Slavery sentiment; and extreme as is the ground now taken by its politicians and political press generally, we know that it is not sustained by large body of Southern People, who are yet restrained from expressing their dissent. As it is, many journals in the Slave States condemn openly the outrages of the Pro Slavery party in Kansas; some as openly favor the organization of a free State in that Territory. western section, boldly denouncing Slavery for conomical reasons; several well-known newspapers in other Southern States, strongly urging a mitigation of the slave code, so that marriage may be legalized among slaves, the bonds of the family preserved, and slaves be taught to read. Even in South Carolina do we see a religious journal insisting upon the education of the slave population as a religious duty. (See the extracts quoted on the fourth page of this number of the Era.) Nor must we overlook the fact, that the Emancipationists of Kentucky still maintain their ground, Cassins M. Clay, John G. Fee, and others, asserting and exercising the right of openly discussing the Question of Slavery, and by holding public Anti-Slavery meetings.

Let us repeat; these are but indications of strong sentiment in the South, which, should the free States prove true to Freedom, and inaugurate an Anti-Slavery Federal Administration, would gradually embody itself in the form of an efficient organization

THE NATIONAL KNOW NOTHING CONVEN-

We gave some account of the organization f this Convention last week, and left the Committee on a Platform earnestly engaged in atempting to reconcile contradictions. In the beinning of last week, majority and minority reports in regard to Slavery, were submitted, as

MAJORITY REPORT

" Resolved, That the American party, having arisen upon the ruins and in spite of the oppo sition of the Whig and Democratic parties, cannot be held in any manner responsible for the obnoxious acts and violated pledges of either; that the systematic agitation of the Slavery question by those parties has elevated sections hostility into a positive element of political power, and brought our institutions into peril. It has therefore become the imperative duty of the American party to interpose, for the purpose of giving peace to the country and perpe tuity to the Union; that as experience has shown it is impossible to reconcile opinions so ex-treme as those which separate the disputants, and as there can be no dishonor in subn to the laws, the National Council has deem it the best guarantee of common justice and of isting laws upon the subject of Slavery, as a final and conclusive settlement of that subject n spirit and in substance.

Resolved, That regarding it the highest duty to avow these opinions, upon a subject so important, in distinct and unequivocal terms, it is ereby declared as the sense of this Nation Council, that Congress possesses no power un-der the Constitution to legislate upon the subiect of Slavery in the States, or to exclude any tate from admission into the Union because its Constitution does or does not recognise the institution of Slavery as a part of her social system; and expressly preterminating any exressions of opinion upon the power of Con-ress to establish or prohibit Slavery in any erritory. It is the sense of this Nation ouncil, that Congress ought not to legislate upon the subject of Slavery within the Territo-ries of the United States, and that any interference by Congress with Slavery, as it exists in the District of Columbia, would be a violation of the spirit and intention of the compact by which the State of Maryland ceded the District to the United States, and a breach of the Na-

MINORITY REPORT "Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri compromise was an infraction of the plighted ith of the nation, and that it should b ed; and if efforts to that end shall fail, Congress should refuse to admit any State tolerating Slavery which shall be formed out of any portion of the territory from which that Institution was excluded by that Compromise."

A hot discussion, it is said, sprang up, and similar scenes, we suppose, to those we are all familiar with, were enacted. The correspondent of the Tribune, who says he was never in the Convention, gives minute reports, found-

papers a full account of the vote. The majority, or Pro-Slavery report

adopted-yeas 80, navs 59-as follows: Aves-New York, Delaware, District of Co. umbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Geor, tia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Ala bama, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, Ten les-see, Kentucky, California, Maryland.

Noes-New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ma ne, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Massachu-

setts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, The minority report had been previously reected, as follows:

AFFIRMATIVE VOTE. Maine-Richmond, Carmen, Peck, Co'ell. ephens, Lincoln. New Hampshire-Sherman, Colby.

Vermont-Hatch, Barrett, Kinsley, Guil ord Massachusetts - Buffington, Foster, Fich nond, Carey, Wilson, Rugg. Rhode Island-Knight. Connecticut—Sperry, Booth, Clark. New Jersey—Lyon, McClellan, Weeks, John-

Indiana-Orth, Slaughter, Harvey, Bryant, Illinois - Danenhower, Eastman, Prichet.

Phelps, Gilson.

Michigan—McNaughton. Wisconsin-Chandler, Wood, Cook. Ohio-Martin, Olds, Morlay, Morton, Ford cAbee, White. Iowa-Loughridge, Thorington.

NEGATIVE VOTE. New York-Barker, Sannon, Mallory, Seyour, Squires, Lyons. New Jersey-Deshler, Andrews. Pennsylvania - Bell, Freeman, Johnston, oulter, Lamberton, Small, Vancleve. Louisiana-Harly, Bunce.

Texas-McCall, Stamp. District of Columbia-Ellis. Mississippi-Roby, Carpenter, Miller. Florida-Henry Randall, Darley, McCall. Alabama - Stewart, Bradford, Hopkins

Arkansas-Logan, Pike, Neill. California-Matthews, Hitchcock, Gib Tennessee-Brown, Stokes, Tapp, Shannon Kentucky-Pilcher, Glirder, Furnell, ams, Mason, Bartlett.

Missouri - Gamble, Harris, Cunningham rice, Hawkins. Delaware-Johnson, Clement, Johns, Saith-, Briggs, Porter. Maryland-Ohr, Purnell, Ricaud, Code, Al.

xander, Winchester, Mitchell. Virginia-Bolling, Moore, Ellison, Boseler, Arthur, Burwell. North Carolina-Littlejohn, Rayner, Wharon. Houghton. South Carolina-Cunningham, Richardson

Russell, Davis. Georgia-Poe, Cone, Hill, Davis, Leitner Head, Ware. Minnesota-Cobb Yeas 51, navs 88.

On the minority report, as on the majority, he Southern States voted as a unit. In both cases, the free States were divided. Indiana did not vote at all, on the report of the majority, while New York and California voted with the slave States. On the minority report, New York, Pennsylvania, California, and Minnesota, stand with the South, while New Jersey was divided.

How many members were present, or rule of voting was adopted, we cannot say. The aggregate vote on both these test questions was A Protest was then offered by Johnston, Bell, Small, and Coulter, of Pennsylvania : Barrett, Kinsley, Guilford, Pierpont, and Hatch, of Vermont; Prichet and Danenhower, of Illinois; Livingston and McClellan, of New Jersey; Booth, of Connecticut; and Clement, of Delaware. It protests against the introduction of any question connected with Slavery into the platform and principles of the American Party; out, if that subject is to be passed upon, then it leclares their intention to act with no Party whose action will result in endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska act. The document is milk and water. The Indiana members also made a

protest, speaking boldly in the language of Thursday, June 14th, fifty-three members from twelve States seceded, held a meeting, and issued an address, which, with the views appended, we print :

To the People of the United States : The undersigned, citizens of various States, assemble; at Philadelphia on the 14th day of June, 1855, feel constrained, under the existing state of ffairs, to affirm the following prin

ciples:
First. The unconditional restoration of that time honored Compromise, known as the Missouri Prohibition, which was destroyed in utter disregard of the popular will-a wrong which o lapse of time can palliate, and no plea for its continuance can justify. And that we will use all genstitutional means to maintain positive guarantee of that compact, until the object for which it was enacted has been consummated by the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as Free States.

Second. That the rights of the settlers in Territories to the free and undisturbed exercise of the elective franchise guarantied to them by the laws under which they are organized, ould be promptly protected by the Executive, whenever violated or threatened And that we cannot conscientiously act with those who will not aid us in the correction of these National wrongs and who will not even permit their fair consideration and their full

Third. We further declare our and unalterable determination to use all honorble efforts to secure such a modification of the Naturalization laws, aided by such an elevation of public sentiment as will preserve the true inerests of the Nation, and will guarantee the three vital principles of a Republican Govern-BIBLE, and FREE SCHOOLS-thereby promoting the great work of Americanizing

Fourth. That we invoke the arm of legislaion to arrest that growing evil, the deportation by foreign authorities of paupers and convicts stitution requires the Chief Executive of our country to be of native birth, we deem it equalnecessary and important that our Diplomatic epresentatives abroad should also possess no foreign prejudices to bias their judgment or to influence their official action.

Massachusettts. H. M. McAlen. Henry J. Gardner, Jno. E. Rees. Henry Wilson, J. W. Foster, Wilson, Indiana. Wm. Cumback Schuyler Colfax, Godlove S. Orth, A. C. Carey, H. W. Rugg, J. L. Harvey, Andrew A. Richmond F. D. Alle James R. M. Brya New Hampshire. Anthony Colby, Michigan. Israel Cogshall, Mos. A. McNaugh Jesse Mann, Stephen B. Sherm Illinois. W. W. Danenhowe Vermont. Evelyn Pierpoint, Joseph H. Barrett, Ryland Fletcher, W. H. Young, Henry S. Jennings, D. L. Eastman. R. M. Guilford. Jo. D. Hatch. lowa. James Thorington Wm. Laughridge. Ithode Island. Jacob C. Knight, onis Q. Cowan, B. D. Peck. Nathaniel Greene John L. Stevens William H. Sweet Connecticut.

Thomas Clark, N. D. Sperry. Wisconsin. Thomas H. Ford. D. C. Wood,

David B. Booth,

mittee consists of Goodlove S. Orth of Indiana. Gov. Gardner of Massachusetts, A. McKay of course, to secure the approbation and support Ohio, Moses A. McNaughton of Michigan, W. of their constituents. But they ought to know, land, Ohio. Every free State fully represented bridge of Iowa, Jacob C. Knight of Rhode Isl- that in any Fusion they may try to form, the and, N. D. Sperry of Connecticut.

The National Council, now purged of heresy, met on Friday morning, but not a Northern may be united for the campaign of 1856, on delegate, it is said, was present. The follow- the issues between Slavery and Freedom, but ing is the substance of the platform adopted, in

addition to the resolutions on Slavery. "1. Acknowledges the Ruler of the Universe as presiding over the councils of all nations.

2. Urges the cultivation of an intense American feeling. "3. Urges the maintenance of the Union as

the primary object of patriotic desire.

"4. Urges obedience to the Constitution "5. Invites the immigration of the honest immigrant seeking an asylum and protection, but condemns the importation of felons and

6. Recommends a modification of the natu ralization laws, and a repeal of all State laws which allow unnaturalized foreigners to vote. "7. Declares hostility to the corrupt means by which party leaders force upon the people useless political creeds, enmity against the system of rewards for political subserviency, and disgust for the wild hunt after office which characterizes the age.

8 Declares resistance to the aggressive policy of the Roman Catholic Church by the advancement of those only who do not owe civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign Power, civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education, and training: Americans only shall govern America; prote tion to all citizens in the proper exercise of their civil and religious rights and privileges; the maintenance of the right of every man to the full, unrestrained, and peaceful enjoyment of his own religious opinions and worship; and a jealous resistance of all attempts, by any sect nomination, or church, to obtain ascendency in the State by special privileges or exemptions, by political combinations of members, or by the division of their civil allegiance with any foreign potentate or ecclesiastic.

"9. The reformation of the National Legis lature, by selecting therefor pure and unselfish

"10. A restriction of Executive patronage. "11. The education of youth in schools com mon to all, without distinction of creed or party, and opposition to every attempt to exclude the Bible from the schools. "12. The Slavery resolutions which have

been already published. "13. The foreign policy of Government should be to exact justice from the strongest and to do ustice to the weakest.

"14. The principles of the Order to be henceforth openly avowed, and each member to be at liberty to make known the existence of the Order and his membership, and that in future there be no concealment of the places of meeting of the subordinate councils."

THE KNOW NOTHING SECESSION-ITS PROB-ABLE EFFECT.

We present in another column a succinct statement of the proceedings of the National Know Nothing Convention, and of the seces sion of its Northern Delegates. Many members of that Order were inexperienced enough to hope that some compromise of the Slavery Question, not yet devised, might be hit upon, to unite Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery voters in a National Party. By this time they have learned that the alternative always pre- private charge, and unable to support them-139; the Anti-Slavery vote, only 51-so that sented by the Pro-Slavery men, is, Submission selves, and persons convicted of crime, recog-"Be it so," it is expected, will always be the language of the North.

This time, secession was preferred to submission. As has uniformly been the case, in National Conventions of the Whig and Democratic Parties, so in this, the free States were divided, the slave States united. New York and California did vassal work for the Slave Power all the time; New Jersey and Pennsylvania were sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. Timid, half-hearted, halting, under the lead of ex-Governor Johnston, of Pennsylvania, who has been repeatedly puffed as an Anti-Slavery man, they would have preferred to ignore every question connected with Slavery, but, as this was introduced, and passed upon, they avowed their purpose to co-operate with no oganization, the result of whose party action should be to endorse the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Such a position, at this crisis of our history, is beneath criticism. The Seceders themselves, it seems, were willing to surrender the whole ground of the North, except a single point. Their ultimatum was this:

"Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the Nation, and that it should stored; and if efforts to that end shall fail, Congress should refuse to admit any State erating Slavery, which shall be formed out of any portion of the Territory from which that institution was excluded by the Compromise.'

The only demand made, was, to redress single wrong, to back out from a single aggression. Tacit acquiescence in all the other aggressions of Slavery, in all its usurpations, in the slave code of the District of Columbia in the Compromise Acts, and in the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, was implied-and we see not the slightest recognition of the necessary, irreconcileable antagonism between Slavery and Freedom, not the slightest indication of a purpose to secure to Freedom ascendency in the Federal Government. The Northern members could not have taken lower ground, without covering themselves with infamy-they could not have demanded less, without prove king the contempt even of their Souther brethren-but even this humble demand was sternly denied. Not a Southern man would listen to it-not a Southern man would be satisfied with anything less than a ratification of all the usurpations of Slavery, and a pledge to maintain them.

The secession of the Anti-Slavery members was then a necessity. Had they submitted, political death at the hands of their constituents would have been their fate. But, so habitual has been the subservience of Northern politicians, that Wilson, Ford, and their fellowseceders, deserve credit for the step they have taken. We have no authentic reports of the speeches of these gentlemen in Council, but the Tribune correspondent represents them as glowing with the spirit of liberty. One thing, however, is certain; they demonstrated their consistency with their previous declarations, by resisting the pro-slavery action of the Council, and, failing to defeat it, by withdrawing, and by sub. mitting their appeal from its decisions, to the People.

As to the National Council, it has succeeded in organizing a National Know Nothing Party, on an open Pro-Slavery Platform. It is to be Anti-Catholic and Anti-Foreign, but the rule of secresy is abolished. How many Councils in the Free States will recognise the "nationalized" Order, remains to be seen. All the Southern Councils, of course, will be gratified. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and California, will probably adhere; but considerable secessions may be expected. In the other Free States, generally, the Councils will probably sunder their connection, but then there will be secessions of the Nationals. The new Party, with its mask of Secresy

thrown off, would seem to be an amalgam of Hunker Whigery and Native Americanism, in the edge of engrossing interest in this country—no servise into decoming animana geame, but to abate the norm of slavery in the away as to save the cause of Freedom, involve fundamental rights and incalculable in the create, and are constantly generating the product of the subjects. The white subjects is one to be decoming animana geame, but to abate the place of the old National assendency is gone, the system must lose ground, and the Emancipation spirit, now as of his mission to China. The Union says as to save the cause of Freedom, and it takes the place of the old National assendency is gone, the system must lose ground, and the Emancipation spirit, now as of his mission to China. The Union says assendency is gone, the system must lose ground, and the Emancipation spirit, now also which the North could accept, The Northern men fought well, but, as the developed in the South. With every steadily gaining polytical power ever since the foot of Federal soil consecrated to Freedom, and with an Anti-Slavery Federal Administration of the Constitution. In 1790, the left rom decoming animana geame, unt to abate this necessity in the away as to save the cause of Free days of the South, the Committee of Correspondence, that future unised accept, and the prestige of its political power were harsh and overbearing, and none ground, and the Emancipation spirit, now steadily gaining polytical power ever since the foot of Federal soil consecrated to Freedom, and with an Anti-Slavery Federal Administration of the Constitution. In 1790, the left takes the place of the old National assendency is gone, the system must lose ground, and it takes the place of the South, the Committee of Correspondence, that future unisoner, converted upon him by the President, that me were disposed to be conciliatory. He was not not take the place of the North, and it takes the place of the North assenting to the South. Now that the place of the North assenting to the South, the South in the Committee of Correspondence, that the McLane has been

condition precedent to success is, the exclusion of Native Americanism. The Free States on no other. The pioneer Anti-Slavery men of the country generally are for Spiritual Freedom, a Free Bible, and the Free School: but they will not tolerate Secresy, a Religious Test in Politics, or the abridgment of the rights Foreign Immigrants, as secured by our Naturalization Laws. The Demagoguism that would foster distinct nationalities, or distinct castes, they alike deprecate: any movement looking to the support of sectarian schools by State appropriations they would resist: and all abuses of the Naturalization Laws they would seek to correct: but under the pretext of maintaining Spiritual Freedom, they are not to be led off into a crusade against any religious denomination; nor are they to be seduced by the catch-words, "importation of foreign paupers and criminals," into the support of harsh and indiscriminate restraints on foreign immigration. Where the attempt is made to introduce real felons or State paupers from foreign countries, let the State interpose-it has the power, and can provide the proper safeguard. But we hold, that the refu-

a felon; nor is poverty, pauperism. If the Seceders propose to lead off in support of a Fusion movement of the masses of the People of the Free States, let them plant themselves upon the Principles of the Declaration of Independence, the best of American Documents, and bring them to bear upon the one Question of National Importance at this time-Shall Slavery or Freedom control the Federal Government, and determine the destinies of America?

What says HENRY WILSON? The conspicuous part he has taken in this new movement, and the confidence reposed in him by the body of Know Nothings opposed to Slavery, as well as by many Anti-Slavery men out of the Order, impose on him heavy responsibilities.

THE GROUND OF THE SECEDERS.

We publish in another column the ground taken by the Seceders from the National Know Nothing Convention, in their appeal to the People of the United States. They make four points, and the only one touching upon Know Nothingism is the fourth.

" Fourth. That we invoke the arm of legisla tion to arrest that growing evil, the deportation by foreign authorities of paupers and convicts to our shores; and that, as our National Constitution requires the Chief Executive of our country to be of native birth, we deem it equal v necessary and important that our Diplomatic Representatives abroad should also possess no foreign prejudices to bias their judgment, or to influence their official action. We suppose that all citizens of this country.

naturalized and native-born, will concur in the opinion, that persons, supported at public or own laws, ought not to be imported into this country; and that, if existing legislation is not sufficient, properly enforced, to prevent this evil, it ought to be made sufficient. But, if by paupers, be meant poor people, unable it may be to obtain a living at home, owing to want of employment, but able and willing to work for one, or if, by convicts be meant refugees from tyranny, political onenders, then nobody but a niserably mean Nativist would consent to their The latter clause of the resolution is simply

illogical. As the President, it says, must be ative-born, so our Diplomatic Representatives abroad should be free from foreign prejudices! We presume they meant at first to express distinctly the natural conclusion from their premise-namely, our Diplomatic Representation abroad ought to be native-born : but it to themselves so narrow and illiberal, we suppose, that dropping the idea with which they commenced, they merely assume that such representatives should "possess no foreign preju-

Who will question this? We should demand still more than this in our Representatives abroad: they should divest themselves of all prejudices tending to thwart or embarrass proper official action. If any prejudice be tolerated, let it be the single prejudice, in favor of Democratic Principles and Institutions.

We are deplorably misrepresented in foreign countries, not because some of our Ministers are foreign by birth, but because they are not truly American in Principle. Why take vengeance alone on Mr. Soule, when Messrs, Masox and Buchanan are just as acceptable? What better is the Slavery-apostle, Bedinger, native-born, than the foreign-born, Dale Owen, who has behaved so well as to escape all noto

The true rule for a President is, to select as Representatives of American interests abroad, the very best Americans he can find, without instituting any curious inquiries into "endless genealogies, which minister questions rather than godly edifying," as Paul said.

FUSION CONVENTION-GRAND UNION, ETC.

A Boston correspondent of the New York Evening Post says, the action of the Seceders from the Know Nothing Convention is hailed in Massachusetts with exultation: "A grand Fusion Convention will be called at

Springfield in July, when the Know Nothings

will declare for an open campaign, and for a generous union with the Anti-Slavery men of Burlingame, John W. Foster, N. P. Banks, jr., and Governor Gardner, who are the leaders of the present dominant party in Massachu

will extinguish 'the dark lantern,' and, opening wide their arms, invite all to join them in a principles and platform of the fathers of the Republic. "Among those who will attend this Conven tion, who have not heretofore acted with the Know Nothings, may be mentioned ex-Governor Boutwell; Hon. Charles Sumner; Samuel Bowles,

editor Springfield Republican; Mr. Goodwin editor Lowell Courier; Hon. Charles R. Train, District Attorney, Middlesex district; Hon. Henry L. Dawes, ditto of Berkshire district; Hon. Rodney French, of New Bedford; R. H. Dana, jr., Esq.; Emory Aldrich Esq., of Worcester, President of the 'Know Somethings;' and probably Hon. Julius Rockwell, of Pittsfield; Hon. Ensign H. Kellog, of ditto; General B. F. Butler, of Lowell; and other pro men, who, with such men as Hon. A. H. Buloch, of Worcester, who are now members of the Know Nothings, will form a party which will sweep the State on a proper platform. All right, provided Scoresy, Anti-Alien Pro-

scription, and a Religious Test, be eschewed. Let there be a good foundation, and then, no building with wood, hay, and stubble. "Fusion and co-operation among all the friends of Freedom must be our motto; and

when a man is sincere and carnest in that

This Convention met on the 13th, in Clev W. Danenhower of Illinois, Stephen B. Sherthat the ground they take on the Slavery Quest C. W. Slack, Ex-Governor Boutwell, and thirman of New Hampshire, Joseph H. Barrett of tion is too low to meet the demands of the ty delegates, from Massachusetts. Organized Vermont, B. D. Peck of Maine, Wm. Laugh. Anti-Nebraska masses of the Free States, and by the election of Mr. Stebbins, of New York, President. Committee of nine appointed or June 14 .- Great enthusiasm. Discussion of

What will the Seceders do? Endeavor, of KNOW SOMETHING NATIONAL CONVENTION

platform interrupted by telegraphic despately from Philadelphia, announcing result there and the withdrawal of the Northern members Cheers, three times three. Platform adopted as follows:

"The preamble asserts that the servility to the Slave Power, the characteristic of existing olitical parties, is perilous to manhood, to the est interests of the North, and to the libertie of the Republic. "The first resolution declares that the issue

before the American Public is, whether Freedom is to be limited to Free States, or Slavery to " Second: That the issue has been forced

pon the country by Slave Power aggressions Third: That these aggressions, and especially the Nebraska outrage and the assault upon the elective franchise of Kansas, have aroused the freemen of the Republic, and that they will maintain their rights and resist the additions of slave territory.

" Fourth: That they will maintain the ma tionality of Freedom. " Fifth: That the friends of Freedom should

make principles, not birthplace, the test of ad " Sixth: That we will repel every ecclesiasi cal interference in political affairs, by potentate, pontiff, or priest, as destructive of the right to gee from tyranny, the political criminal, is not worship God according to the dictates of cor-

science and of liberty.

"Seventh: Recommends action in several States for the promotion of Temperance. "Eighth: Agreeing to support free schools free labor, and harbor improvements.

"Ninth: To strive for the election of men or

integrity, and with nerve to resist aggression Tenth: For these objects we are ready to anite with all men, under any name or organiza ion, to aid in carrying into operation these

June 15. A telegraphic despatch in the Tri "They have exhibited back-bone in all their ction, by the adoption of a line of policy that precludes them from acting as an independen party, but uniting with the great Anti-Nebraska

and Republican party.
"The ritual as adopted is simple and unobjectionable, no oaths being required, a simple pledge of honor being the test of initiation The following are the main points of the plat form, to be read first: A pledge of the honor of the candidate required; a person to be twenty one years of age, and a citizen of the United States, and not a Roman Catholic. They proscribe no man, you will perceive, on account o

his birthplace.
"The following Committee was appointed on Public Information: C. W. Slack of Massachu-setts, Edgar McMullen of New York, and James M. Ashley of Ohio.

"The following officers were elected for the suing year: Hiram Griswold of Cleveland. National President; Ex Governor Boutwell of Groton, Massachusetts, Vice-President; William Richardson of Albany, New York, National Secretary; Joshua Robinson of Pittsburgh, Pa., National Treasurer. Mr. Griswold was the candidate of the Whig party for Governor in 1845. Ex-Governor Boutwell is well known as a prominent Democrat. Mr. Richardson is an Englishman by birth; he came to this country when twelve years of age. Mr. Robinson is also

an Englishman by birth; he has always been a "Buffalo was selected as the next place for meeting, on the second Wednesday of June,

NEW HAMPSHIRE SENATORS.

The House of Representatives of New Hampshire, on the 13th instant, elected Hon, James Bell, of Guilford, (Whig.) and Hon. John P. Hale, of Dover, (Free Soil,) United States Sen ators-the former, by a majority of 137, for six years; and the latter, by a majority of 112.

for four years. ' The Whig Senator elect is a man of ability, lawyer of high reputation, and a personal friend of his Free Soil colleague. He is under stood to be strongly pledged to Anti-Slavery measures. The return of John P. Hale to the place which he so honorably and ably filled in the Senate Chamber, is by no means an event of merely local interest. It will be heard of with satisfaction by the friends of Freedom throughout the country. The cannon fire which on the evening of the election announce

it from the hills of New Hampshire, has

This election in New Hampshire, like that

this found an echo in every free State.

of Henry Wilson-in Massachusetts, is by means to be regarded as the triumph of a party. Nativism, of the New York stripe, ha othing to do with it but to oppose it. Through it, the Anti-Nebraska, Anti-Fugitive Slave Law feeling of the North has found an expression stronger than mere wordy protests and "paper pellets" of resolutions. We indeed regret that the obstinacy and blindness of the leaders the late Whig Party of the North, in preventing the formation of the Republican Party last year, precipitated the masses into the Know Nothing movement, to the serious danger as detriment of the vital interests of the North, and the consequent encouragement of the S very Propagandists. But this temporary en barrassment is passing away. The Norther sky is clearing. The Philadelphia Convention has demonstrated to the most stolid Hunker comprehension the fact that the gulf between Slavery and Freedom can neither be bridge by resolutions, nor tunnelled by secret comb nations. "Groby pool" is no longer to "thatched with pancakes." The Ned Bunt lines and Angel Gabriels of Nativism, with their Hunker colleagues, the Ullmanns and Fillmores, have lost their occupation. Their patent extinguisher of Abolitionism has itsel caught fire, and is singeing its inventors. The way is open, and the time has now fully come for a general movement on the part of the free States, for the purpose of organizing for the Presidential contest. Let bygones be bygon let liberal Whigs and Democrats, disban Know Nothings, and Free-Soilers, unite dially and heartily in the new party of People. No Slave Territory! No new Slave States! Repeal of the Fugitive Stace Law The General Government permanently a openly on the side of Freedom! A party wit

WILSON'S TEMPERANCE HOUSE,-In another olumn will be found the card of this old an popular establishment, situated in Jackson, Michigan. We are informed that this is the oldest public Temperance House in the United States, having been built for the purpose 1840, when Temperance was not near so pop lar as at the present day, and has been ke up to the present, by Dr. J. T. Wilson, it original proprietor, on the strict principle 'Total Abstinence." We congratulate I Wilson on its successful continuance, whilst so many of a similar character have been started within that time, and discontinued for want o proper support.

these watchwords can alone meet the wants of

the time, or hope for success in the free States

Let it be inaugurated without further delay.

The Non. Robert M. McLane has been in Washington, engaged in closing up the bus